

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 COPENH 01854 172048Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 AID-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00  
EB-08 FRB-03 INR-10 NSAE-00 SP-02 STR-07 TRSE-00  
LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 HA-05  
USIE-00 OES-07 CEQ-01 EPA-01 DOE-11 SOE-02 DOEE-00  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6176  
INFO USMISSION USNATO  
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EC COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 1854

USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: EEC, CSCE, DA  
SUBJ: US-EC PRESIDENCY DIALOGUE: READOUT ON POLITICAL DIRECTORS'  
MEETING, COPENHAGEN, MARCH 15-16; BELGRADE

1. EC PRESIDENCY CHIEF JORGEN BOJER TOLD US TODAY THAT  
THE GENERAL CONCLUSION REACHED BY THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS  
AS A RESULT OF THEIR REVIEW OF BELGRADE WAS "DISAPPOINTMENT  
BUT NOT DESPAIR." "DISAPPOINTMENT" BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE  
TO ACHIEVE A MEANINGFUL SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT FROM THE  
SOVIETS, "NON-DESPAIR " BECAUSE OF THE DISCUSSION OF BOTH  
HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE FAILURE OF PARTIES TO LIVE UP TO THE FINAL ACT.  
THIS DISCUSSION, SAID BOJER, KEEPS THE SOVIET'S NOSE  
TO THE GRINDSTONE OF THE FINAL ACT.

2. DIRECTORS OBSERVED THAT THE FAILURE TO ACHIEVE A  
MEANINGFUL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT MUST NOT LEAD THE  
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PAGE 02 COPENH 01854 172048Z

PEOPLES OF THE WEST TO DEVELOP A "GENERAL NEGATIVE  
ATTITUDE TOWARD DETENTE." THE WEST MUST NOW LOOK  
FORWARD TO MADRID AND TRY TO FIGURE OUT HOW TO COME OUT  
OF IT BETTER THAN IT DID OUT OF BELGRADE.

3. THE NINE BELIEVE, ON A PRELIMINARY BASIS, THAT  
WESTERN TACTICS AT MADRID DO NOT NECESSARILY HAVE TO

FOLLOW THOSE PURSUED AT BELGRADE NOR DO THE SAME POINTS HAVE TO BE MADE IN THE SAME WAY. THE CSCE WORKING GROUP OF THE NINE WAS COMMISSIONED TO BEGIN LOOKING TOWARD MADRID. IT WILL MEET IN COPENHAGEN APRIL 3-4 IN ANTICIPATION OF THE APRIL 21 MEETING AT NATO. BOJER SAID THAT, THE NINE ARE NOT HOWEVER ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOP A FIRM COMMON POSITION FOR DISCUSSIONS AT NATO.

4. POLITICAL DIRECTORS ALSO DISCUSSED THE "BREZHNEVE PROPOSALS" FOR EUROPEAN CONFERENCES ON TRANSPORTATION, ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT. THE NINE HAVE NOT REACHED AGREEMENT AMONG THEMSELVES ON THE ATTITUDE THEY SHOULD TAKE AT THE APRIL SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC COUNCIL FOR EUROPE. (ECE). THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT THAT IF SUCH CONFERENCES ARE HELD, THEY SHOULD BE WITHIN THE ECE FRAMEWORK WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. THERE IS A SENTIMENT ON THE PART OF AT LEAST SOME MEMBERS OF THE NINE THAT AN ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE MIGHT BE QUITE DESIRABLE AND PERHAPS EVEN ONE ON ENERGY. BOJER REMARKED THAT THE DANES SEEM TO BE THE MOST INTERESTED OF THE NINE IN AN ENVIRONMENT CONFERENCE.

5. ON THE OTHER HAND, SINCE THE WEST GOT SO LITTLE OUT OF THE SOVIETS AT BELGRADE, THERE IS RESISTENCE TO "GIVING THEM WHAT THEY WANT" BY RESPONDING FAVORABLY  
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PAGE 03 COPENH 01854 172048Z

TO THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS. THE END RESULT MAY BE THAT THE NINE WILL HAVE TO WITHHOLD AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO ANY OF THESE CONFERENCES AT THE APRIL MEETING AND THAT THE WHOLE QUESTION WOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL NEXT YEAR.

6. POLITICAL DIRECTORS AGREED THAT THE EUROPEAN WORKING GROUP STUDIES ON ALBANIA AND THE ROLE OF SOVIET ARMED FORCES IN THE SOVIET UNION COULD BE DISTRIBUTED TO "ALLIED AND FRIENDLY COUNTRIES." AS FAR AS BOJER KNOWS, THIS WAS THE "FIRST CONSCIOUS DECISION" ON THE PART OF THE NINE TO DISTRIBUTE NON-CSCE RELATED EC WORKING PAPERS.  
DEAN

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## Message Attributes

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